

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SAA-01 NEAE-00 SSM-05  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00  
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INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE  
USUN NEW YORK 5834  
USMISSION SINAI

UNCLAS TEL AVIV 8869

E.O. 11652: NA  
TAGS: PEPR PINT IS  
SUBJECT: CONTINUING ISRAELI REACTIONS TO VIENNA TALKS (JULY 13)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: FORMER PRIME MINISTER RABIN CALLS ON  
GOI TO ACCEPT VIENNA DOCUMENT AS A BASIS FOR THE LONDON  
CONFERENCE. ABBA EBAN DEFENDS THE VIENNA DOCUMENT, WHILE  
DAYAN'S INFORMATION ADVISER ATTACKS THE PERES-SADAT MEETING.  
GOI AND OPPOSITION DISAGREE OVER INTERPRETATIONS OF PERES'  
REPORT ON THE TALKS. HEBREW PRESS EDITORIALS CRITICIZE  
DAYAN'S ATTACK ON THE VIENNA MEETING. END SUMMARY.

2. FORMER PRIME MINISTER RABIN (JULY 12) CALLED ON THE GOI  
TO ACCEPT THE VIENNA DOCUMENT AS A BASIS FOR THE LONDON  
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CONFERENCE. NOTING THAT THE OPPORTUNITY CREAMED BY  
THE VIENNA TALKS MUST NOT BE WASTED, AND THAT THE  
CHANCES FOR PEACE MUST BE FULLY EXPLOITED, RABIN  
SAID IN RADIO AND TELEVISION INTERVIEWS,  
"PEACE MUST NOT BE FORFEITED BECAUSE OF THE 'NOT ONE  
INCH' POLICY". ALTHOUGH HE CAUTIONED THAT NO OFFI-  
CIAL CHANGE IN THE ALIGNMENT'S POLICY HAS OCCURRED, RABIN

DID SAY, "THE POSSIBILITY NOW EXISTS OF EXAMIN-  
ING ALTERNATIVES TO THE GOVERNMENT'S LINE--ALTERNATIVES  
IN KEEPING-WITH THE ALIGNMENT'S POSITION".

3. ABBA EBAN, MEANWHILE, CONTINUED TO SPEAK OUT IN DE-  
FENSE OF THE DOCUMENT HE IS GENERALLY ACKNOWLEDGED TO  
HAVE HAD A HAND IN DRAFTING. ARGUING THAT THE "VIENNA  
FORMULA" SHOWS "THERE IS NEGOTIATING POTENTIAL" BETWEEN  
ISRAEL AND EGYPT, PROVIDING THE PARTITION PRINCIPLE IS  
NOT REJECTED, EBAN OUTLINED SEVERAL PROVISIONS OF THE  
DOCUMENT WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE  
ISRAELI POSITION; SPECIFICALLY:

A) IT REFERS TO ISRAELI SECURITY MEASURES OUTSIDE ISRAEL'S  
FINAL BOUNDARIES;  
B) IT PROVIDES THAT THE FINAL BOUNDARIES ARE TO BE DETERMINED  
BY THE PARTIES THROUGH NEGOTIATION;  
C) IN CONTRAST TO THE ASWAN FORMULA, IT MAKES NO REFERENCE  
TO PALESTINIAN "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS" OR TO THE  
"PALESTINIAN PEOPLE", TWO PHRASES WHICH PROVIDE THE  
BASIS FOR A PLO STATE.

4. FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN, THROUGH AN AIDE, CONTINUED  
TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE PERES-SADAT MEETING. LA'AM  
MK ZALMAN SHOVAL, INFORMATION ADVISOR TO DAYAN, IS  
REPORTED BY THE JERUSALEM POST (SEGAL) TO HAVE ASSAILED  
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PERES FOR UNDERMINING ISRAEL'S NEGOTIATING POSITION AT  
THE UPCOMING LONDON CONFERENCE. SEGAL HOLDS THAT SHOVAL  
SAW BEHIND PERES' MOVE AN AMERICAN ADMINIS-  
TRATION THAT IS "IN GREAT HASTE TO PRODUCE AN OVERALL  
MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT BY PAYING WITH ISRAELI TERRITORIAL  
CONCESSIONS". SHOVAL ALSO ATTACKED THOSE INDIVIDUALS IN  
THE GOVERNMENT WHO HAD "MISTAKENLY WELCOMED" THE VIENNA  
DOCUMENT.

5. HA'ARETZ (BENZIMAN) DISCUSSES DIFFERENCES WHICH  
EXIST BETWEEN THE GOI AND THE OPPOSITION ON INTERPRETA-  
TIONS OF A REPORT PERES SUBMITTED ON HIS VIENNA TALKS.  
ONE DIFFERENCE CENTERS ON WHETHER SADAT WILL CONTINUE  
BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH ISRAEL TOWARD A SEPARATE AGREE-  
MENT. ACCORDING TO LABOR,  
SADAT SAID THAT, ALTHOUGH HE COULD NOT ACT ALONE IN THE  
NEGOTIATIONS, HE WOULD BE WILLING TO "MAKE PROGRESS" IF  
A JOINT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES IS ACHIEVED. THE GOI  
CONTENDS THE MEANING OF THE PHRASE "MAKE PROGRESS" IS  
VAGUE AND THAT SADAT HAS SHOWN NO DISPOSITION TOWARD  
REACHING A SEPARATE AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL. LABOR ALSO  
EMPHASIZES THAT SADAT'S AGREEMENT TO DROP THE WORD

"LEGITIMATE" FROM THE TERM "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS" REPRESENTS A MODERATION OF HIS POSITION WHILE LIKUD STRESSES THAT SADAT TOLD PERES THE PALESTINIANS MUST BE GIVEN SELF-DETERMINATION AND BE ENCOURAGED TO LINK THEMSELVES WITH JORDAN. SIMILARLY, WHILE LABOR EMPHASIZED SADAT'S EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE FORMULA OF "WITHDRAWAL TO SECURE BORDERS TO BE FIXED IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS", THE LIKUD STRESSES THAT SADAT TOLD PERES HE COULD NOT AGREE TO ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS REMAINING IN THE RAFAH APPROACHES AND THE SINAI AND THAT ISRAEL WOULD HAVE TO WITHDRAW FROM THE AIRFIELDS. DISAGREEMENT ALSO EXISTS OVER THE PROPER INTERPRETATION OF THE PHRASE "RESOLVING THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IN ALL ITS UNCLASSIFIED

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ASPECTS". DOES SADAT APPLY THIS PHRASE ONLY TO GAZA AND THE WEST BANK, OR TO THE ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST REGION (AND IMPLICITLY TO THE REFUGEE PROBLEM)?

6. EDITORIAL COMMENT JULY 13 IS CRITICAL OF DAYAN FOR HIS REJECTION OF THE VIENNA DOCUMENT. BOTH DAVAR AND AL HAMISHMAR WRITE THAT THE VIENNA TALKS SHOW THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD A PEACE SETTLEMENT DO EXIST. AL HAMISHMAR STRESSES THAT EVEN RELATIVE HARDLINERS IN THE NRP ARE ABLE TO SUPPORT THE VIENNA DOCUMENT. DAYAN'S REJECTION OF THE DOCUMENT DEMONSTRATES HE IS NOT INTERESTED IN FINDING A WAY TO BRIDGE THE GAP TO ARRIVE AT A SETTLEMENT. DAVAR ASSERTS THAT THE GOI IS PRESENTLY PREOCCUPIED--NOT WITH FURTHERING THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT WITH ATTEMPTING TO DISCLAIM ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR FAILURE. THAT IS WHY, ACCORDING TO DAVAR, THE GOI REGARDS THE TALKS NOT AS THE CREATION OF AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE, BUT RATHER AS "A STAB IN THE BACK FOR THE GOVERNMENT", DESPITE SADAT'S DISPLAYED MODERATION. ELSEWHERE IN ISRAEL, ACCORDING TO DAVAR, SUCH MODERATION IS GENERALLY WELCOMED. THIS NEWSPAPER MAINTAINS THAT THE OPPOSITION IS NOW ENTRUSTED WITH A TASK OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE: TO PRESENT A REAL ALTERNATIVE TO THE GOI'S DANGEROUS FOREIGN POLICY. LEWIS

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, MEETINGS, PEACE PLANS  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 13 jul 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 jan 1960  
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**Disposition History:** n/a  
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